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## Adventure and Authority in Gold Rush California: Mary Goemaere and the Foundation of the Dominican Sisters of San Rafael

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## ADVENTURE AND AUTHORITY IN GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA: MARY GOEMAERE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE DOMINICAN SISTERS OF SAN RAFAEL

In 1874, the Dominican priest Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, aged 60, recorded the missionary activities of Dominicans in California over the previous twenty-four years. He concluded his chronicle: "This is a concise history of the [Dominican] Order in California from its beginnings to this day. The Order has progressed slowly up to now, but if it be recalled that only one Father [Sadoc Vilarrasa] was sent here in the beginning, . . . then it will seem wonderful that there are now found in California two houses of Brethren with 17 priests."<sup>1</sup> Sadoc Vilarrasa's chronicle is only partially accurate because it omits discussion of the progress and contribution of Dominican women in California whose growth was more than double that of the Dominican men. (See figure 1)

It was not from lack of knowledge or contact that Sadoc Vilarrasa omitted the Dominican women from his account of Dominican accomplishments but rather from being a product of his time--a time in which the deeds of women were simply non-data. He had arrived in San Francisco in December, 1850, with the Dominican bishop, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, and the Franco-Belgian Dominican nun, Mary of the Cross Goemaere. Both Sadoc Vilarrasa's men's and Mary Goemaere's women's groups became part of the Holy Name Province approved by Gerolamo Gigli, Vicar General of the Dominicans, in the summer before they had even left Europe. The women's group, consistent with the practice of the time, had as local authority a man; in this case, Sadoc Vilarrasa. And it was Sadoc Vilarrasa who in 1852 gave the new community its first constitutions--probably modelled on those of the Dominican sisters in Ohio and Kentucky with whom he had labored from 1845-1850. In this paper, I will examine the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the "San Rafael Dominicans" and begin to fill in the gap of knowledge about Mother Mary Goemaere (1809-1891) who founded the first religious congregation of women in the new state of California and established schools for the education of girls in Monterey, Benicia, and San Francisco.<sup>2</sup>

Catherine Adelaide Goemaere, the third of nine children, was born to artisan parents on 20 March 1809, in Warneton, a small Belgian town on the modern French-Belgian border. Almost nothing is known about Mary Goemaere's early life except that her parents' occupations,

according to their marriage license, were cooper and "tricoteuse."<sup>3</sup> The young Catherine Adelaide Goemaere may have stayed at home to help raise the two younger (and only other surviving) children after her mother (Thersille Euphémie Demailly) died in 1821<sup>4</sup> or perhaps she may have helped her father (Ignatius Joseph) by keeping the books in his business. As we can tell from later documents and accounts of her activities, she was an educated woman; she corresponded by letters, had a beautiful, legible handwriting, administered schools, kept account ledgers, and was skilled in making lace and artificial flowers.<sup>5</sup>

At the age of 40, Catherine Adelaide Goemaere entered a Dominican contemplative monastery in Paris, France and on 10 September 1849 received the name of Soeur Marie de la Croix.<sup>6</sup> Normally she would have professed her vows a year later and remained in the same monastery, the Monastère de la Croix, for the rest of her life, just as the prioress of the monastery reminded her in 1855: "In our Community we make profession to live and die in the [same] house."<sup>7</sup> But in late August 1850--near the end of her canonical year as a novice--her life changed.

In that month, the newly appointed and consecrated California bishop, the thirty-six year old Joseph Alemany, O.P.,<sup>8</sup> visited the Monastère de la Croix and requested help for the missions. Soeur Marie de la Croix, a forty-one year old novice, volunteered. A letter written to her a year later from the prioress of the Parisian monastery indicates that she may have had difficulty living with the French community. The prioress wrote: "I congratulate you for having had the good fortune to follow Monseigneur. . . . It consoles me for the sorrow you have felt in our house."<sup>9</sup> More importantly, Mary Goemaere's decision was based on her sense of call and her belief in being part of a divine plan. In several extant records, this factor is iterated. On 20 September 1851, the Parisian prioress wrote: "The Good God destines you for great things."<sup>10</sup> And in another letter, "You are right, my good Mother, to ask for abandonment and submission to the will of God . . . the best thing is to let oneself be led by His beneficent hand without worrying about anything."<sup>11</sup> Six years later, the prioress again referred to Mary Goemaere's participation in the divine plan: "The good God had for you, my good Mother, very extraordinary designs, and He has used us as instruments so that you could succeed."<sup>12</sup> And in 1858, Mary

Goemaere wrote: "By doing all that he [Joseph Alemany] told me I could not fail to do the Holy Will of the good God."<sup>13</sup> This conviction gave her courage and zeal (i.e., "burning with love like the Seraphim"<sup>14</sup>) to leave her known world and to follow the young bishop in order to "make God known and loved in this country where he has perhaps been unknown."<sup>15</sup> Associated with this cooperation with the will of God was obedience. In fact, the only vow taken by the California Dominican women according to an 1856 record was obedience--to God, to Mary, to Dominic, and to the prioress, who acted for the Master General of the Friars Preachers.<sup>16</sup>

No matter what the motivation, Mary Goemaere's acceptance of the bishop's appeal to undertake an arduous journey to a strange land began an adventure which led to the establishment of the first group of women religious in California. Three weeks after answering the bishop's plea, Mary Goemaere was aboard the sailing vessel, Columbus, for the month-long sea voyage from Liverpool to New York. On the day of sailing, Alemany wrote that seven of them (at a total cost of 90 pounds sterling<sup>17</sup>) were comfortably settled on the ship: "The sisters [Rose, Catharine, Marie de la Croix] are very well and very happy; they have just finished singing several religious hymns . . . the sisters have their . . . English grammars and dictionaries and we have begun the first lesson."<sup>18</sup>

It is clear from his records that Joseph Alemany's visit to France, England, and Ireland during late summer 1850 was to seek funds and personnel for his new diocese of Monterey and for his former province in Kentucky and Ohio. About Mary Goemaere, Joseph Alemany noted in his diary on 21 August 1850: "A good Third Order Dominican sister of Paris offers to come to my diocese as does her superior provided she can live in a convent of the Second Order. Both are good teachers."<sup>19</sup> And, a few weeks later, he recorded: "Write to the sisters of Saint Magdalen [Kentucky] and Somerset [Ohio] asking an immediate answer whether they will agree to my plan of leaving the French sisters on an exchange basis."<sup>20</sup> These two entries raise several questions as to the nature and the whereabouts of the institution for which Mary Goemaere volunteered. In the first entry, Joseph Alemany indicates that a California cloistered convent is the condition for acceptance of the bishop's request by the volunteer--a condition unable to be fulfilled in gold rush California; and in the second entry, Kentucky and Ohio are

mentioned--where also there was no cloistered convent. Further, there is the puzzling identification of Mary Goemaere as third order Dominican when she was a novice in a second order monastery. According to oral tradition, Mary Goemaere made her religious profession to Joseph Alemany as a Third Order Dominican before she left for the United States, but this would not account for Joseph Alemany's use of the term when he first met her. Possibly the lack of a proper cloister which had been denied to the Monastère de la Croix since the upheavals of the French Revolution meant that novices could only take simple rather than solemn vows. The Parisian prioress in a number of letters from 1851 to 1861 reported on the progress of the reintroduction of the long-awaited proper cloister and the joy that this brought to the monastery.<sup>21</sup> A similar longing for the contemplative life is seen in the paragraph which preceeded the vow of obedience pronounced by the women who joined Mary Goemaere in California: "It is my will and desire as soon as it is possible to introduce proper cloister to unite myself with others . . . to make solemn vows as the nuns of St. Dominic and the brothers of his Order are accustomed to do."<sup>22</sup>

Despite the desire for a contemplative life on the part of the women religious, both of Joseph Alemany's diary entries indicate his desire to recruit help for the apostolate of education. In the 21 August entry, he remarked that the two volunteers from Paris were "good teachers." The bishop could have observed their teaching since the Monastère de la Croix had opened a school in order to sustain themselves and to fulfill the conditions for legal recognition of religious institutions in nineteenth century France.<sup>23</sup> (Classes were held until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.) In the 10 September entry, he mentioned Saint Magdalen and Somerset which were convents in Kentucky and Ohio which ran schools for girls. Joseph Alemany's intention to provide for education is also expressed in a request for travel funds dated 15 August 1850--a week before the visit to the Monastère de la Croix. The bishop wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons: "I have found some [French] Sisters who are ready to leave for America [to work with the Dominican sisters in Ohio and Kentucky in the education of Catholic and Protestant girls and in the care of orphans]."<sup>24</sup> Education continued to be important in Joseph Alemany's episcopacy as can be seen in a 1851 plea to the Society for the

Propagation of the Faith for money: "Our diocese was in the most miserable condition in regard to education. The poor boys and girls must be left a prey to Protestantism and immorality, if we do not exert ourselves to open some good institutions."<sup>25</sup> During the first years in California, Alemany successfully recruited other religious orders to serve in his diocese--often in the apostolate of teaching.<sup>26</sup>

While it might have been clear as to what Joseph Alemany intended, it was unclear to Mary Goemaere. Eight years after the fact, Mary Goemaere explained in a letter to Alexander Vincent Jandel, the Master General of the Dominican Order in Rome, that she had originally volunteered for a job teaching French in Somerset, Ohio. Only upon the arrival in New York had the bishop changed his mind and asked her to accompany him and his fellow Dominican, Sadoc Vilarrasa, to California. Nevertheless, she wrote that she had accepted the change of plans "very willingly"<sup>27</sup> in order to follow the will of God. In this same letter, she demonstrated that the journey to and sojourn in California had been full of hardship and isolation: "I have been poor, alone, and abandoned for the eight years since we have been in California." Perhaps this sense of isolation and lack of support prompted her four years later in 1862 to reconsider a request from Augustine Langlois, O.P.<sup>28</sup> to help establish a religious community of Dominican women in French Canada and to ask Alexander Jandel for the appropriate permission (which he gave on 13 December 1862 provided that Joseph Alemany agreed).<sup>29</sup> She explained that the first such request over two years before had not been responded to because she was so busy and was needed in California but that circumstances had changed: "I am inclined to think that it could well be the Will of the Good God."<sup>30</sup> Although she never went to Canada, the correspondence with Alexander Jandel and Augustine Langlois reveals her desire for service, her willingness to undertake a new foundation in yet another foreign country, and a sense of commitment to follow the will of God. It also shows a change from the original condition upon which she had accepted accompanying Joseph Alemany. Her 1862 request was to go as "a religious of the Third Order Conventual." Thus, twelve years after arriving in California, she no longer pursued a properly cloistered monastery but was content with following the rules and constitutions of active Dominican sisters.

The contemporary accounts of the third Dominican (Sadoc Vilarrasa) who traveled with Joseph Alemany and Mary Goemaere to California sheds little light on Mary Goemaere's motivations for or expectations of her missionary undertaking. In his first letter after his arrival in California (dated 14 December 1850), Sadoc Vilarrasa provided a lengthy description and discussion of his trip from Europe to San Francisco. In this letter, he never referred to Mary Goemaere. He did, however, mention the two Dominican sisters, Rose Courbattieu and Catherine Coppé, whom he had recruited in Toulouse for the Dominican Convent of St. Mary's of the Springs in Somerset, Ohio. Sadoc Vilarrasa, Rose Courbattieu, and Catherine Coppé arrived in Paris on August 28; and then Sadoc Vilarrasa "left with the two nuns for Boulogne [where was Mary Goemaere?] . . . On the 11th [September], we met Father Joseph Alemany, and together we left on the Columbus, a sail boat [sic]."<sup>31</sup> The letter continued to describe the voyage to New York, the leaving off the two sisters from Toulouse in Ohio,<sup>32</sup> the trip to and across the isthmus of Panama and finally the arrival in California on December 7--three months after departing from England.

But nowhere did he mention his fellow traveler, Mary Goemaere. A possible reason is that she was not his responsibility; it had been Joseph Alemany who had recruited her for the missions. Further, it may not have been clear exactly where in California she would go or where he would conduct his priestly ministry. After arriving in California, he first was sent to Stockton and remained there for about four weeks.<sup>33</sup> Only in spring 1851 did he know his final destination. In a letter to a Stockton resident, he explained: "I did not know whether or not I was returning to Stockton. His Excellency the Bishop decided to assign me to Monterey . . . We are now in the immediate process of opening a college for little girls."<sup>34</sup>

Later that year (2 October 1851), Sadoc Vilarrasa described the foundation of "the first convent [Santa Catalina] that ever existed in California" and mentioned, though not by name, that the Prioress "came with us from Paris."<sup>35</sup> Over twenty years later (1873-74), Sadoc Vilarrasa's chronicle resembled the account in Joseph Alemany's diary: "A Belgian Sister, by name of Mary of the Cross Goemaere, professed in the Third Order at Paris, came with us with the intention of founding a monastery of the Third Order for the education of girls."<sup>36</sup> Like

Alemaný, it was clear to Vilarrasa--at least in 1874--the purpose of Mary Goemaere's trip.

Thus, on December 7, 1850, Mary Goemaere, Joseph Alemany, and the Dominican Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa landed in San Francisco, California, after three sea voyages (Liverpool-New York, New York-Panama, and Panama-San Francisco) and a canoe-mule trip across the isthmus of Panama.<sup>37</sup> One story about that trip reveals the practical and forceful nature of Mary Goemaere--characteristics she would need to succeed in gold rush California. It concerns the two mules which carried the three travelers. When the mule bearing Joseph Alemany and Sadoc Vilarrasa refused to proceed, "a vigorous blow from Mother Mary soon conquered the mule's obstinacy, and the journey was completed without further incident."<sup>38</sup> This incident illustrates the character of Mary Goemaere as related by sisters who knew her later. She had a "commanding appearance, . . . was a strict disciplinarian, . . . adamant in her decisions."<sup>39</sup>

The Dominicans (Mary Goemaere and Sadoc Vilarrasa) arrived in the episcopal city of Monterey in early March 1851 and established a school for girls and a school for boys. The girls' school, Santa Catalina, opened on 28 April 1851 with eight students. Joseph Alemany had arranged for a "school house" and had authorized the creation of the first California convent of sisters (the one member--Mary Goemaere--was shortly joined by Concepcion Arguello). By August 1851, the school had 12 resident and 60 day students (\$2 monthly tuition), and the convent consisted of five sisters who spoke three different languages (French, English, and Spanish). Sadoc Vilarrasa commented in 1851: "At first it was like the tower of Babel, not being able to understand one another."<sup>40</sup> Within the first three years of existence, nine women (three American, one Mexican, and five Spanish) joined Mary Goemaere in the Congregation of the Most Holy Name. Sadoc Vilarrasa was joined by six young "Catalans" who arrived in late December 1851 and were admitted to the Dominican Order in February 1852.<sup>41</sup> The boys' school, San Domingo, struggled to survive and fared less well than the girls' school--with fewer students. Joseph Alemany reported in 1853 that the Dominican sisters had 60 and Sadoc Vilarrasa 35 students.<sup>42</sup>

In 1854, the Dominicans moved from Monterey to Benicia. For \$500 Mary Goemaere chartered a schooner to take the sisters, the furniture, and presumably some of the students to



Benicia in August of that year. Her school and convent--renamed St. Catherine's--became anglicized in name and personnel. Many factors contributed to this move. California was divided into two dioceses in 1853 (see figure 2); Monterey was included in the southern diocese, and Alemany was named the first archbishop of San Francisco in the northern diocese. The Dominican men in Monterey had had a difficult time making a living in that city<sup>43</sup> and so proposed to move to the new and potentially prosperous California capital at Benicia in the archdiocese of San Francisco. They also decided to discontinue the boys' school.

Unfortunately, this prosperity did not materialize, as a contemporary observer remarked in 1862: "Benicia is a very dull place--scarcely any business, although once the rival of San Francisco."<sup>44</sup>

Another reason for the move of the women to Benicia was that ever since their arrival in California the Dominican men and women had forged a close working relationship. Both were part of the Holy Name Province and Sadoc Vilarrasa, as Commissary, was the Dominican superior in California. Thus, Sadoc Vilarrasa requested permission from the Dominican Master General for the move of both convents which was granted. In Benicia, Mary Goemaere embarked on a building program for St. Catherine's Academy which culminated in a \$32,000 debt in 1860 and she remained prioress until 1862. But that is another story!

## NOTES

1. Paul M. Starrs, ed., "The California Chronicle of Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, O.P., 1850-1874," Catholic Historical Review 37 (Jan. 1952), p. 436.

2. Santa Catalina, Monterey, 1851; St. Catherine's Academy for Young Ladies, Benicia, 1854; St. Rose Academy, San Francisco, 1862.

3. Strangely, she referred to her father as a librarian, and this was repeated in the official histories of the congregation. There is no evidence of this occupation; his death certificate in 1853 described him as "ancien tonnelier" or "former barrel maker." Copies of marriage and death certificates are in the Dominican Sisters Archives in San Rafael (AOPSR).

4. The two other children who survived infancy and childhood were Elise Thersille (1815-1861) and Delphine (1819-?). There is no extant communication between the Belgian family and Mother Mary, but undoubtedly there was some. Warneton, on the Lys River in Flanders, was devastated during World War I and again during World War II.

5. Mary Goemaere's monthly letters to the Monastery of the Cross were not preserved. However, the responses to her letters were copied into a notebook, and these copies and a later translation from the French into English can be found in AOPSR. There are over thirty letters which span the first decade in California, 1851-1861. Most were written by the prioress, Soeur Marie. The official name for the San Rafael Dominicans is Sisters of St. Dominic, Congregation of the Most Holy Name. The sisters moved their headquarters to San Rafael in 1889.

6. Archives of Monastère de la Croix, Book of Clothing. Copy in AOPSR. The size of the monastery in 1855 was 15 choir sisters, 3 novices, 2 postulants and 9 lay sisters. This was presumably about the same size as when Goemaere had been there. AOPSR Letters to Goemaere, 11 February 1855, p. 6.

7. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Goemaere, 2 September 1855. Apparently Goemaere had asked Sr. Marie to join her in California and the prioress had responded she had no objections but that since she had been professed in the Monastère de la Croix, she would go to California only under obedience. Mary Goemaere wrote to Alexander Jandel for permission for Sr. Marie to join her in California. The master general responded that he could not give such permission because the Parisian monastery was under the authority of the Archbishop of Paris.

8. In 1850 Joseph Alemany, the provincial of St. Joseph's province in Ohio, had traveled to Italy with Dominican prior,

Sadoc Vilarassa, to participate in a general chapter of the Dominican Order which was never held because of the turmoil in Rome at the time. While there, he was informed of the papal decision to appoint him to the see of Monterey. Reluctantly, he accepted and was consecrated Bishop of Monterey on 30 June 1850.

9. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Goemaere, 20 September 1851.

10. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 20 September 1851.

11. AOPSR, Letter Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, n.d. [but between 1851-1855 because of its position in the collection], p. 3.

12. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 17 March 1857, p. 14.

13. AOPSR copy, Goemaere to Jandel, 19 9bre 1858. Original is in the Archives of the Master General of the Dominican Order in Rome.

14. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, n.d. [1855?], p. 3.

15. AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, n.d. [1855?], p. 3.

16. AOPSR, Microfilm copy (in Latin) and translation of "Formula Professionis Sororum Provincia S. Joseph & California" from Archives of Master General, California, 1856 in Rome.

17. Entry for Sept. 11 [1850], Francis J. Weber, ed., "The Long Lost Ecclesiastical Diary of Archbishop Alemany," California Historical Society Quarterly 43 (Dec. 1964), p. 323.

18. Joseph Alemany to Rev. Mother Superior [Toulouse], 11 September 1850. Copy in AOPSR. Original is in the Archives of Dominican Sisters in Albi, France. This letter surfaced in 1992 after seeking more information about the two Toulouse women who accompanied Mary Goemaere to New York.

19. Entry for Aug. 21st [1850], Francis J. Weber, ed., "The Long Lost Ecclesiastical Diary of Archbishop Alemany," California Historical Society Quarterly 43 (Dec. 1964), p. 322.

20. Ibid., Entry for Sept. 10th [1850]. p. 323.

21. The cloister was seen as a necessary structure to ensure the atmosphere of prayer. Fifty years after the French Revolution, Sr. Marie joyfully announced: "You would find a great change in our house: we are now cloistered. Our large parlor has been segregated from the rest of the house; . . . you can imagine that we are very happy to see this rule established among us." (AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 20 Sept. 1851.) Her point was repeated in 1858: "You would find a great deal of change. We have a cloister door, grilled speaking rooms, and we have to have

a Sister portress to open the door." (AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 13 Apr. 1858.)

22. AOPSR, Microfilm copy (in Latin) and translation of "Formula Professionis Sororum Provincia S. Joseph & California" from Archives of Master General, California, 1856, in Rome.

23. There are brief references to the monastic school in the letters that the prioress sent to Mary Goemaere during the first decade in California. In 1851, she wrote: "We still have our free class (notre classe gratuite)." (AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 2 Sept. 1855.) Six years later, the type of school had changed as well as the social class of the students. Instruction now revolved around work habits. Comparing the Paris school with that at Benicia, Sr. Marie reported: "We also, my good Mother, have children in the house, but this is not a boarding school. It is only to teach them work about the house, they being almost all poor children who pay a small board, whom we are trying to keep from habits of indolence and laziness into which their parents would allow them to fall if we did not inculcate in them at an early age love for labor. We commenced this work about six months ago and have about forty children." (AOPSR, Sr. Marie to Mary Goemaere, 19 May 1861.)

24. AOPSR, Copy from Archives of Society for the Propagation of the Faith, University of Notre Dame.

25. Joesph Alemany to the "President of the Central Council of the Work for the Propagation of the Faith," San Francisco, 19 July 1851, printed in McGloin, California's first Archbishop, pp. 124-125. "From 1853-1884, the Archdiocese of San Francisco received the not inconsiderable amount of \$45,600 in annual stipends from this Society; in addition the Diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles, 1849-1877, received almost an even \$100,000--some part of which must certainly have been of help to Alemany." Ibid., fn 8, p. 99.

26. For example, coming to serve under Alemany were the Notre Dame de Namur sisters (1851), the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (1851-52), the Presentation Sisters (1854), and the Irish Sisters of Mercy (1854).

27. AOPSR copy, Mary Goemaere to Alexander Jandel, 19 9bre 1858. Original is in the Archives of the Master General of the Dominican Order in Rome.

28. Anthony Langlois (1812-1892) was a missionary priest from Quebec. He joined the Dominicans in California in 1853, received the name of Augustine, and left the Domincan Order in 1868. He continued to serve in the San Francisco archdiocese until his death. John Bernard McGloin, "Anthony Langlois, Pioneer Priest in Gold Rush San Francisco," Southern California Quarterly 49

(Dec. 1967), 407-424.

29. Correspondence between Mary Goemaere and Alexander Jandel (24 October 1862) and Mary Goemaere and Augustine Langlois (22 October 1862). Copies of the correspondence which is in the Archives of the Master General at Santa Sabina in Rome are in AOPSR and in Dominican Men's Archives at St. Albert's, Oakland (AOPSA).

30. Mary Goemaere to Alexander Jandel, 24 October 1862. Copy and translation of Letter in AOPSA. Original in Archives of the Master General at Santa Sabina, Rome.

31. Sadoc Vilarrasa to "My very Dear Fathers," 14 Dec. 1850, Revista Catolica XVIII (Apr. 1851), pp. 354-358. Translated copy in AOPSR.

32. The French sisters were "exchanged" for two English speaking Dominican women, Sr. Aloysia O'Neill (later shortened to Louisa) and Sr. Francis Stafford. Because Sr. Aloysia still needed to complete her training as a novice, they left for California in May and arrived in July, 1851. They were accompanied by Notre Dame Sisters--one of whom wrote an account of the trip. "Account of Journey from Antwerp to San Jose, California by our dear Sister Mary Alenie," AOPSR has a copy. The original is in the archives of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Belmont, California.

33. Joseph Alemany had even become a naturalized citizen in 1845. McGloin, California's First Archbishop, p. 52. On the 1852 California Census (Monterey County), both Joseph Alemany and Sadoc Vilarrasa are marked as being U.S. citizens. In 1850, Dominicans worked in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Wisconsin.

34. Sadoc Vilarrasa to "My dear Madam," 17 March 1851, AOPSA.

35. Translated copy in AOPSR, Sadoc Vilarrasa to "Parents, Brother and Sisters," 2 October 1851, in Revista Catolica XX (Jan. 1852), pp. 93-6.

36. Paul M. Starrs, ed., "The California Chronicle of Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, O.P., 1850-1874," Catholic Historical Review 37 (Jan. 1952), p. 423.

37. Account of the voyage is given in Sadoc Vilarrasa's letter of 14 Dec. 1850 printed in Revista Catolica XVIII (Apr. 1851), pp. 354-358. Translated copy in AOPSR.

38. Sr. M. Aloysius Boschen, "Dominicans in California," Part I Dominicana 1 (Dec. 1900), p. 340.

39. Sr. Mary Hyacinth Kilgannon, O.P., "The History of Saint Catherine's Academy: 1851-1854 in Monterey, California; 1854-1862

in Benicia, California," Unpublished master's thesis (Dominican College, San Rafael, 1967), p. 12.

40. Sadoc Vilarrasa to "Parents, Brother and Sisters," 2 Oct. 1851, in Revista Catolica XX (Jan. 1852), pp. 93-96. Translated copy in AOPSR.

41. Of these six, two were ordained priests and served in California, two left the order, one died as a brother in 1856, and one other was ordained and returned to Spain. Paul M. Starrs, ed., "The California Chronicle of Francis Sadoc Vilarrasa, O.P., 1850-1874," Catholic Historical Review 37 (Jan. 1952), p.425, fn 16.

42. "Report submitted to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1853" cited in Francis J. Weber, Joseph Sadoc Alemany: Harbinger of a New Era (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973), chart opposite p. 34.

43. In Sadoc Vilarrasa's meticulous account books, a typical month, November 1852, showed an income of \$106.46 (religious services brought in \$51.94 and the boys' school \$23) and expenses of \$189.18 with a total deficit for the year of \$615.98. (AOPSA, Ledger: Monterey-Benicia, 1852-1859.)

44. Francis P. Farquhar, ed., Up and Down in California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 291.